



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973
Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, NARA Online Public Access Catalog Identifier: 597542

[Conversation No. 522-001](#)
[Conversation No. 522-004](#)
[Conversation No. 522-007](#)
[Conversation No. 522-010](#)

[Conversation No. 522-002](#)
[Conversation No. 522-005](#)
[Conversation No. 522-008](#)
[Conversation No. 522-011](#)

[Conversation No. 522-003](#)
[Conversation No. 522-006](#)
[Conversation No. 522-009](#)

[Conversation No. 522-001](#)

Date: June 16, 1971
Time: 9:05 am - 10:38 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander Butterfield.

Papers

-Promptness of arrival

H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman entered at 9:10 am.

White House social functions

-Treatment of guests

-Robert S. Oelman of National Cash Register

-Socializing with Cabinet officer

-Karl R. Bendetsen

-Meeting with President

-Conduct of Cabinet officers

-Nathan Cummings

-Carl G. Gerstacker

-List of contacts for Cabinet officers

-Harold L. Kennedy

-Donald W. King

-Joseph Meyerhoff

-Contact with Cabinet officers

-Contact with President

-Conduct of administration officials

-Frank J. Shakespeare

-Paul W. McCracken



- Maurice H. Stans
- Congressman and Senators
- Bendetsen
 - Conversation with Shakespeare
- Cabinet members role
 - Secretary of the Treasury
 - Secretary of Defense
 - Secretary of Commerce
 - Arthur F. Burns
- Need for a plan
 - Peter G. Peterson
 - Nathaniel Samuels
 - John A. Scali
 - Helmut ("Hal") Sonnenfeldt
- Peterson contacts
 - Cummings
 - Aquaintence with Meyerhoff
- President's role
 - Contact with guests
 - Louis K. Eilers
 - Oelman
 - Dell E. Webb
 - Health
 - Cooper Holt
 - National Silent Black Majority representative [Clay Clairborne]
 - Relationship with President
 - Gerstacker
 - Mack Truck representative [Zenon C.R. Hansen]
 - Bendetsen
- Stag dinners
 - Guests contact with administration officials
 - Typical evening for guests
- Circulation of guest list
- Extent of circulation
- Administration officials' contacts on plane trips
 - Press
- Planning of contacts
 - Benefits
- Use of Cabinet officers



- Use of White House staff
 - Contact with President's supporters
 - Preparation
 - Contact with guests
- Need for aggressive staff members
 - Elliot L. Richardson
 - John S. Davies
 - John E. Nidecker
 - Shakespeare
 - George H.W. Bush

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 9:10 am.

President's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 9:25 am.

White House social functions

- Treatment of guests
 - Circulation of guest list
 - Shakespeare
 - Use
 - Staff role
 - Beginning dinners on time
 - Role of women
 - State dinner
 - Receiving in Yellow Oval Room
 - Assembling of guests
 - Invitation times
- Staff role in working crowd
 - Sonnenfeldt
 - Scali
 - Sonnenfeldt
 - Henry A. Kissinger role
 - Charles W. Colson role
- Peter M. Flanigan dinner
 - Eilers
 - Bendetsen
 - Oelman of National Cash Register



-Dudley Swim

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 9:10 am.

[Delivery of documents]

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 9:25 am.

[Signing of documents]

- Use of dinners
- Pre-dinner briefing
- Coverage of points

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 9:10 am.

-New York Times example

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 9:25 am.

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/18/2019.
Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]
[522-001-w002]
[Duration: 17s]

The President and Alexander Butterfield left at 9:25 am.

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 9:25 am.

Helene (Colesie) Drown
-H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's suggestion

The President returned and Manolo Sanchez left at an unknown time before 9:56 am.



White House social functions

- Pre-dinner briefings
 - President's staff
 - John B. Connally
 - Public relations
 - Focus on President's effort
 - International Business Machines [IBM] precedent
 - President's demeanor during dinner
 - Focus on dinner's purpose
 - Effect of entertainment
 - US Army Chorus
- Dinner attendance
 - Attendance at Willy Brandt dinner
 - Kissinger
 - Necessity
 - Sherman Adams attendance record
 - Kissinger availability
 - Martin J. Hillenbrand
 - Staff availability
 - John D. Ehrlichman
 - Kissinger
 - Flanigan
 - George P. Shultz
 - Peterson
 - Herbert G. Klein
 - Klein role
 - Skill with people
 - Staff desire for contacts
 - Scali
- Staff effort at wedding
 - Mr. and Mrs. Norman Chandler
 - William P. Rogers role
- Dinner attendance
 - Rose Mary Woods attendance
 - Effort of staff
 - Benefits
 - Comfort of guests



- President's experiences
- Haldeman's observation
 - French hospitality
 - Contacts with Charles De Gaulle
 - US compared with France
 - German hospitality
 - Kurt Kiesinger dinner
 - British hospitality
- William B. McComber, Jr.
- William R. Codus
- McComber

Okinawa signing ceremony

- Rogers' request
 - Reading of message from President
- President's attendance
- Rogers' role
 - Japanese sensitivities

Pentagon Papers

- New York Times* story
- Administration strategy
 - Need for leadership
- Ramifications
 - Legal questions
 - Public relations questions
 - General public
- Times* intention
 - Attack on administration
 - Precedent for obtaining documents
 - Lyndon B. Johnson and John F. Kennedy papers
 - Importance of legal action
- Need to stop leaks
 - Kissinger's strategy
 - Suspension of responsible parties
 - Department undersecretaries
 - Scope of strategy
 - U. Alexis Johnson
- Reason for leaks



[*Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-028. Segment declassified on 05/03/2019. Archivist: DR*]

[National Security]

[522-001-w005]

[Duration: 9s]

Pentagon Papers

- Reason for leaks
 - William P. Rogers's role
 - Algeria-France leak

Pentagon Papers

- Newest leak
 - 1972 plans for Saigon defense
- Johnson action
 - War buildup
 - History
 - Press conference
 - Perfidy of remarks
 - Implication of President's actions
- Extent of *Times* documents
 - Kennedy and Johnson
 - Dwight D. Eisenhower
 - Harry S. Truman
- Link of President to Eisenhower administration
- Inconsistent action by administration
 - Johnson's action in Vietnam
- Administration strategy
- Strategy
 - Exposure of Democratic involvement
 - Legal questions
 - Substantive questions



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- Problems
- President's possible actions
 - Release of data to Congressional committees
 - Problems
 - Violation of executive privilege
- Department of Defense [DOD]
 - Need for good judgement
 - Alexander M. Haig, Jr. (?)
- Declassification and release of information
 - Johnson's book
 - Extent of truly classified information
 - Architects of strategy
 - Colson
 - Scali
 - Ehrlichman
 - Clark MacGregor
 - Shultz
 - William L. Safire
 - Colson
- Extent of release
 - Release of Kennedy material
 - Haig
- Administration controlled release of material
 - Methods
 - Through Congress
- Focus on reasons for entering war
 - Problems for continuance of war
 - History of President's position
- Problems with legal action
 - Standard release of classified information
- Implications of *Times* action
 - Secrecy in government
 - Rogers
 - Criticism of injunction against *Times*
 - Eventual fallout
 - George Randolph Hearst
- DOD reaction to story
- Expect of paper's "right to know " argument
- Question to administration



- Protection of current administration
 - Public perception
- Secrecy in government
 - Necessity
 - Acceptance by population

Farm policy

- Publicity question
 - John C. Whitacker role
 - Personnel changes
 - Comments from Congress
 - Coherence of administration position
 - Robert B. McCoy [?] role
 - Robert R. Spitzer role in Farm Bureau
 - Recognition of need
 - Administration's position with farmers
 - Administration polls
 - President's standing
 - Need for new polls

Pentagon Papers

- Times* story
 - Release of papers involving Kennedy
 - Benefits to the Administration
 - Leak to newspaper
 - Protection of government secrecy
 - Informing of public
 - Entry into war
 - Involvement of previous administrations
 - Public's right to know
 - Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield threat of hearings
 - Senate Foreign Relations Committee action
 - Scope
 - Problems
 - Precedent
 - Danger of opening current files
 - Laos
 - Colson's theory of executive privilege
 - Times* action



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- Public perception
- Legal action against *Times*
- J. William Fulbright
- Amount of documentation
 - Effect on Congress
 - Effect on *Times*
- Accusations of administration

Unknown person entered at an unknown time after 9:23 am.

Request for Ehrlichman

Unknown person left at an unknown time before 9:56 am.

Times story

- Extent of concern over story
- Administration's responsibility

Richard T. Burres

- Proposed nomination to the National Labor Relations Board [NLRB]
 - Union opposition
 - International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffers, Warehousemen, and Helpers of America [Teamsters]
 - American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations [AFL-CIO]

Ehrlichman entered at 9:56 am.

President's contact with Kissinger

- Memo for President from earlier meeting
- Strategy regarding Mansfield's action

Times story

- Strategy meeting during the morning
 - Kissinger
 - Consensus
 - Mansfield hearing
 - White House and Congress cooperation
 - Decision on scope of inquiry



- Kissinger memo
- Ronald L. Ziegler briefing
 - Timing
- Spiro T. Agnew

Haldeman left at 10:00 am.

Burres nomination

- Gerald R. Ford role
- James D. Hodgson
 - Desire to see President
 - Labor objections
 - George Meany
- Frederic V. Malek
 - Other candidates' availability
 - President's role in selection
 - Unnamed Ohio woman
 - Robert A. Taft, Jr.
- Burres
 - Qualities
 - President desires
- Malek role
 - Alternative list
 - Qualities desired
 - Response to Robert C. Byrd, Jr.
- Other candidates
 - Hodgson and Shultz candidates
 - Labor Department candidate
 - Forthcoming meeting
- Malek and Ehrlichman's meeting
- Malek role
 - Candidate listing

Cross Florida Barge Canal

- Whitaker
 - Corps of Engineers
 - Drainage effort
 - Contact with President
 - Benefits of drainage



- Canal termination
 - Link to drainage
 - Commercial overtones
- Mail to President
 - In favor
 - In opposition
 - Form
 - Jacksonville Chamber of Commerce
- Corps of Engineers' opposition to "draw down"
 - Rationale
 - Environmentalists contention
 - Effect
 - Symbolism
 - Need for President's action
 - Florida state cabinet action
 - Effect on governor
 - Probable outcome
 - Governor's position
 - Options
 - Wait for further developments
 - Rationale
- Whitaker follow up on Cabinet meeting
 - Stans and Rogers C.B. Morton comments
 - Delays on environmental grounds
 - Results

Housing

- George W. Romney comments
 - Reasons
 - Black constituents
 - Content
 - Prior Ehrlichman and Romney meeting
 - Policy decision
 - Extent of Romney problems
 - Position paper
- President's previous meeting with the National Association of Real Estate Boards [NAREB]
- "Black Jack" issue
- Press coverage



- John N. Mitchell role
- Court cases

Domestic policy

- Ehrlichman and Samuel L. Devine meeting
 - Welfare reform
 - Debate on welfare reform
 - Department of Health, Education, and Welfare [HEW]
 - Robert E. Patricelli role
 - Dr. George Wiley role
 - Patricelli comments
 - Administration position
 - Money use
 - Residency requirement
 - Elliot L. Richardson role
 - Difference in House and Senate
 - Ehrlichman and Devine meeting
 - Backup position
 - Experimentation
 - Rochester speech
 - Need for welfare remarks
 - Devotion to foreign policy
 - Need for domestic remarks
 - Press and public perception
 - Foreign versus domestic issues
 - Benefits
 - Welfare
 - Revenue sharing
 - Drug remarks
 - Housing remarks
 - Timing of welfare action
 - Press coverage
 - Focus on negatives
 - President's use of domestic briefings
 - Ehrlichman's debates with the press
 - Rochester speech
 - Drugs
 - Action on drug front



- Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe television appearance on Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
- Effect
- Environment
- Drugs
- Welfare reform
 - Problems
- Drugs focus
 - Benefit to President
- Press coverage
- Revenue sharing
- Rochester speech
 - Urban problems
 - Connally attendance
 - Drug remarks
 - Welfare
 - Revenue sharing
 - Role of money
 - Property tax
 - Press coverage
 - Need for comments by President
- President's ability to make issues
 - Property tax
 - Work as issue in welfare
- Press coverage
 - President's Williamsburg speech
 - Impact of Cabinet officers compared with the President
 - Past press conferences
 - President's preparation
 - Scope changes
 - Focus sharpening
 - Use of prime time
 - Williamsburg speech
 - Employment
- Rochester speech additions
 - Revenue sharing
 - Drugs
 - Welfare reform



Pentagon Papers

- Administration line
- Democratic "family fight"
- Link to present policy

Rochester speech topics

- Pentagon Papers
- Domestic issues
 - Speech to doctors on drugs
 - Melvin R. Laird choice of Dr. R. Stanford Wilbur for Assistant Secretary position
 - Wilbur's background
 - Announcement in American Medical Association [AMA] speech
 - Raymond K. Price, Jr.

-Pentagon Papers

- Legal case
- US involvement in war
- Publication of classified information
- Substance of papers versus publication
- Impact of publication
- Effects
 - Precedent set
 - Possibility of the purchase of classified information
- Criticism of administration action
- Effects
 - Ronald L. Ziegler
 - Pandora's box involving executive privilege
 - Rogers
 - Publication of old information
 - Relation to Pearl Harbor publication
 - Impact on secret Paris negotiations
 - Impact on any secret negotiations
 - Taiwan
 - Soviet Union
 - Berlin
 - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
 - People's Republic of China [PRC]
 - Irrelevance of old information argument
- John A. McCone



- Freedom of Presidential advisers
 - Benefits to President
 - Impact of early disclosure
- Rogers and Laird
 - Advise to the President
- Contact of advisers with press
 - National Security Council [NSC]
 - Effect on discussions
 - Richard M. Helms
- Need for administration coordination
 - Scali
 - Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
 - Safire
 - Price
 - Colson

Farm policy

- President's previous conversation with Haldeman
- Need for new leadership
 - Whitaker effort
 - Congressional comments
 - Alternatives
 - Donald A. Paarlberg
 - Earl L. Butz
 - Need for "title"
- PRC grain shipment
- Democrat role
 - Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson
 - Hubert H. Humphrey
 - Edmund S. Muskie
 - Edward M. ("Ted") Kennedy
- War issue effect
- Polls
 - Haldeman's comments
 - War issue and farm policy impact
- Butz role
- Need for public relations consciousness
- Radio spot
- Whitaker



- Expertise
- Shortcomings
- Bryce N. Harlow, Clifford M. Hardin, J. Philip Campbell and Connally meeting
 - Murray Spitzer credentials
- Press coverage

Rochester speech

- Coverage of domestic issues
 - Birmingham speech

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/18/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[522-001-w007]

[Duration: 36s]

Money raising

- John D. Ehrlichman, H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman, and Charles W. Colson
- Charles G. Bluhdorn potential
 - George A. Smathers role
 - Size of contribution
- John D. Ehrlichman’s opinion

Ehrlichman left at 10:38 am.

Conversation No. 522-002

Date: June 16, 1971

Time: 10:39 am - 12:07 pm

Location: Oval Office



The President met with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

Pentagon Papers

- Administration response
- John D. Ehrlichman role
 - Strengths
 - Charles W. Colson
 - John N. Mitchell

Domestic issues

- Florida barge canal
 - Ehrlichman's role
- Alaskan pipeline

President's schedule

- George P. Shultz
- Shultz and Ehrlichman's access to President
- Henry A. Kissinger's access
- Preparation for visits
- Shultz access

Ehrlichman's staff

- Domestic issues
 - Effort of staff
 - Williamsburg
 - Daughters of the American Revolution [DAR]
 - Press conferences
 - Focus

Pentagon Papers

- Ehrlichman
- Assignment of roles to staff
 - Background
- Need for leadership in administration
 - Richard A. Moore
 - Raymond K. Price, Jr.
 - William L. Safire
 - Patrick J. Buchanan



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- John A. Scali
 - Qualities
- Kissinger's role
- Egil ("Bud") Krogh, Jr.
- Kenneth R. Cole, Jr.
- Impact
- War issue and domestic issues
- Administration handling of Vietnam
- Department of Justice
- Use of White House staff
 - Ehrlichman

Domestic issues

- Ehrlichman
- Shultz
- Coverage by press
 - Shultz
- Rochester speech
 - Ehrlichman
 - Need for domestic coverage
 - Birmingham, Alabama speech
 - President's schedule
- Domestic issues
- Public view of issues
- Use of press conferences
- Gallup poll
 - Relative importance of issues
 - Vietnam
 - Economy
 - Drugs
 - Drugs' previous performance
 - Vietnam fluctuations
 - Pollution
- Constituency demographics
- Gallup poll
 - Methodology
 - Timing
 - Previous polls
 - Formation of questions



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- New York Times* problem
- Rochester speech
- Interest of listeners
 - Previous speeches
 - Topics
 - Domestic Council
 - Administration accomplishments
- Speech coverage by press
- Tone of speech
- Rochester speech
 - Need for revenue sharing
 - Ehrlichman
 - Buchanan
 - Order of topics

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 10:59 am.

- Release of information before speech
 - William P. Rogers' statement
 - Presidential statement
 - Michael J. ("Mike") Mansfield activities
 - Kissinger's role
 - Scali role
 - Winston Lord role
 - Robert C. Mardian

Campaign Financing

- Bluhdorn meeting
 - Meeting with campaign contributors
 - Ambassadorships
 - Italy
 - Amounts

Briefing

- Ziegler role
 - Gerald L. Warren role
- Flexibility
 - Coverage of new ground
- Comment on *Times* story



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- Comment on Mansfield action
 - Scali and Mansfield's meeting
 - Mansfield intentions
 - Hearings
 - Vietnam involvement
 - Tie to *Times* activities
- Comments on *Times* story
 - Administration handling of Vietnam
 - Rogers television comments
 - Speculation on original Vietnam involvement
 - Publication of classified information
 - Lyndon B. Johnson and John F. Kennedy administration
 - Robert S. McNamara
 - Clark M. Clifford
 - Current administration posture
 - Formation of issues
 - Administration response
- Comments on Mansfield action
- Administration concern with history
 - Release of facts
- Comments on publication of classified material
 - Defense of national interest
 - Pearl Harbor information
 - Release
 - Sun Times*
 - Administration view of secrecy
 - Protection of previous administrations
 - Obligation to protect governmental process
 - Current secret discussions
 - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]
 - Mutual and Balance Force Reduction [MBFR]
 - Berlin
 - Vietnam
 - Reasons for secrecy
 - Rogers coverage
- Efficacy of statement by President
- Other statements
 - Scali
 - Kissinger



- Colson
- John D. Ehrlichman
- Mardian
- State Department

[Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under PRMPA regulations 06/18/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Privacy]
[522-002-w005]
[Duration: 16s]

Meeting with Charles G. Bluhdorn

- Time
- Handshake
- The President's opinion

New York Times story [Pentagon Papers]

- Scali's previous conversation with Rogers
- Identification of leaker
 - Daniel Ellsberg
 - Newsweek* article
 - Tip from McNamara
 - [David ?] Norman interview of Ellsberg
 - Action against Ellsberg
 - Political beliefs
 - Rationale for action
 - Penalty for action
- Murray I. Gurfein role in legal battle
 - Rogers
 - Thomas E. Dewey background
 - Nelson A. Rockefeller
 - Preparation for case
 - Herbert Brownell



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- Action against Ellsberg
 - Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] role
 - Newsweek* story
- Effect of publication on national interest
 - Definition of issue
 - Complicating factors
 - Types of classified material
 - Briefing book for President
 - Willy Brandt meeting
 - MBFR
 - Berlin
 - SALT
 - Effect of publication on negotiations
 - Public negotiations
 - Effectiveness
 - Ehrlichman to Herbert E. Kaplow
 - Secrecy
 - Response to Kaplow
 - Publication of Franklin D. Roosevelt's efforts to enter World War II
 - Emotional nature of Vietnam
- Implication of past administration
 - Effect of injunction
 - Upcoming Kennedy disclosures
 - Naming of papers
 - Kennedy-Johnson
 - Effect of injunction
 - Upcoming Kennedy disclosures

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 10:59 am.

President's schedule

- Kissinger and Bunker meeting with President

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:21 am.

New York Times story [Pentagon Papers]

- Administration counter action
 - Times* access to White House staff
 - Times* place in pools



- Future comments regarding *Times*
 - Scali
 - Ehrlichman
 - Kissinger
- Kissinger attendance at upcoming gathering

Drugs

- Bipartisan meeting June 17
 - Effect
- Statement by President
- Krogh and Ehrlichman's effort
 - Description of program

Kissinger entered at 11:21 am.

- Expenditures
 - Public relations effect
- Dan Rather comments

Haldeman and Ziegler left at 11:22 am.

Pentagon Papers

- Kissinger calls to Rockefeller, John B. Anderson and Johnson regarding *Times* story
 - Anderson efforts
- Johnson efforts
- Rockefeller's view of problem
 - Impact on public
 - Rockefeller action
 - Public comment
 - Rockefeller role on Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board [PFIAB]

Kissinger/Ellsworth Bunker talk

- Bunker action
- Kissinger activities

President's schedule

- Bunker schedule

Federal Republic of Germany [FRG] and US relations



- Brandt toast at previous evening dinner
 - Allusion to Vietnam
 - Allusion to Pakistan
 - Lack of "Grace Notes"
 - Kissinger's call to Egon Bahr
 - Brandt's upcoming meeting with US press
 - Brandt Debt to US
 - President's view
 - Mansfield Amendment
 - Monetary policy
 - Berlin negotiations
 - Brandt trip with Hubert H. Humphrey to Woodrow Wilson Center
 - Use by Humphrey
 - Kissinger's call to Bahr
 - President's comments to Rogers
 - Domestic German political atmosphere
 - Kissinger
 - Franz Josef Strauss
 - Contrast to Swedish Prime Minister and Danish Prime Minister
 - Left wing activity

Kissinger spoke with the White House operator at an unknown time between 11:22 am and 11:32 am

[Conversation No. 522-2a]

[See Conversation No. 5-91]

[End of Telephone Conversation]

FRG and US relations

- Berlin negotiations
- Brandt comments to US press
 - Support of the Presidents
- Role of "Left" Around the World
- Confidence in Great Britain



[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-028. Segment declassified on 05/03/2019. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]

[522-002-w006]

[Duration: 8s]

Federal Republic of Germany [FRG] and US relations

-Role of "Left" Around the World

-Confidence in France

-Confidence in Germany

Kissinger spoke with Bahr at an unknown time between 11:22 am and 11:32 am

[Conversation No. 522-2b]

[See Conversation No. 5-92]

Ellsworth F. Bunker entered at 11:32 am.

[End of Telephone Conversation]

FRG-US relations

-German leaders

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 11:32 am.

President's schedule

-Press photo session

-Arrangement

-Document security

The Press entered at 11:40 am.

[Camera noise]



The unknown person and press left at an unknown time before 11:40 am.

President's schedule

FRG-US relations

- Kissinger's conversation with Bahr
 - Explanation of Brandt toast
 - Perception of toast
 - Follow up by Kissinger
 - D[avid] Kenneth Rush
- Brandt

Vietnam

- US-South Vietnam meeting
 - Benefits
 - Drawbacks

Pentagon Papers

- Effect of *Times* story
 - Publication of Pearl Harbor documents
 - Status
 - Origination of leak
 - Ellsberg
 - Ellsberg reputation
 - Extent of leak
 - Method
 - Extent of Rand Corporation's classified holdings
 - Security
 - Other *Times* stories
 - Arthur K. Watson
- Army of the Republic of Vietnam [ARVN] status
 - US withdrawals
- George S. McGovern-Mark O. Hatfield Amendment status

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 11:40 am.

President's Schedule

- Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon



-Preparation for meeting

Butterfield left at 11:43 pm.

Vietnam

- US goal
- Defeat of domestic enemies
- Effect of President's meeting with Nguyen Van Thieu
 - Election effects
- US support
- Kissinger and Bunker's contact with Thieu
- Vietnamese elections
 - Duong Van Minh
 - Nguyen Cao Ky prospects
 - Ky and Minh deal

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-028. Segment declassified on 05/06/2019. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]

[522-002-w004]

[Duration: 2m 35s]

Vietnam

- Poll of Vietnamese countryside—"Pacification Attitude"
 - Results
 - Suppressed question
 - William E. Colby role
 - Preference for candidates in 1971 presidential election
 - Nguyen Van Thieu showing
 - Duong Van ("Big Minh") Minh showing
 - Nguyen Cao Ky showing
 - Urban results
 - Nguyen Van Thieu showing
 - Duong Van ("Big Minh") Minh showing
 - Nguyen Cao Ky showing



- Vietnam
 - Drug Impact
 - Effect on McGovern-Hatfield Amendment
 - Involvement of South Vietnamese leadership
 - Thieu

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-028. Segment declassified on 05/03/2019. Archivist: DR]
 [National Security]
 [522-002-w007]
 [Duration: 5s]

- Vietnam
 - Drug impact
 - Turkish situation

- Vietnam
 - Drug Impact
 - Need for US action
 - Thieu awareness
 - Effect of Vietnamization
 - South Vietnamese shake up
 - New head of South Vietnamese Customs
 - Thieu Needs
 - Long-term economic assistance
 - Kissinger authority during Thieu contacts
 - Acceleration of modernization of weapons
 - Laos (Lam Son) operation
 - Effect of modern weapons
 - Command Problems



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- Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr.
- US materiel
 - The President's instructions
- Air Support
 - Thieu
 - Laos (Lam Son) operation
 - Up-coming dry season activity
 - North Vietnamese tactics
 - Size of attack planes
 - US role
 - Comparison with earlier efforts
 - Future effects
- US budgetary problems
 - Melvin R. Laird
 - Priority shifts
 - Role of air support
 - Role of interdiction bombing
 - Future effect
 - Future offensive
 - Laos
- Air support
 - Tactical necessities
 - Counter moves
- Economics
 - US reforms
 - Effect on price levels
 - South Vietnamese Minister of Economy
 - Thieu role
- Observer group's offer from Thieu
 - Democrat and Republican roles
 - Upcoming Adlai E. Stevenson and Bunker's meeting
 - Rationale
 - Clark MacGregor
 - Composition of previous group
 - Richard M. Scammon
 - Donald Herzberg of Rutgers University
 - Dipandon (?) Of Georgetown
 - Backgrounds
 - Nature of South East Asian election



- Nature of Latin American elections
- Scammon role
 - Benefits
- Watson's view
- Casualties
 - Laos (Lam Son) operation
 - Performance of ARVN
 - Cambodia
 - Abrams and Bunker efforts to change ARVN Commander
 - Thieu and Bunker meeting
 - Gen. Richard G. Stilwell [?]
 - Abrams
- Minh
- Situation in South Vietnam
 - Drugs
 - Thieu election prospects
 - Election details

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:43 am.

President's schedule

Bull Left at an unknown time before 12:07 pm.

Vietnam

- Upcoming Midway meeting with Thieu
 - Public relations of Kissinger's trip
 - Department of State
 - Laird
 - Rogers
- Commitment to meet Thieu
- Bunker's appreciation of President's support

Bunker and Kissinger left at 12:07 pm.

Conversation No. 522-003



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973
Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, NARA Online Public Access Catalog Identifier: 597542

Date: June 16, 1971
Time: Unknown between 12:07 pm and 12:26 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

President's schedule

The President and Butterfield left at an unknown time before 12:26 pm.

[Conversation No. 522-004](#)

Date: June 16, 1971
Time: 12:26 pm - 12:37 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ambassador and Mrs. E. Ross Adair and W. Marshall Wright.

Greetings

Photograph session

Appreciation for assignment

Adair's qualifications for ambassadorship

- Interest
- Background

Ethiopia

- Changes
 - Leadership of Haile Selassie
- Possible Crown Prince visit to US
 - Department of State
 - Reception
 - Emperor's wishes



- President's role
- Extent
- Wright role
 - William O. Hall
- Election year problems
- Adair role

African Countries

- Population size
- Capabilities
- Population

[Previous National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-028. Segment declassified on 05/03/2019. Archivist: DR]

[National Security]

[522-004-w001]

[Duration: 28s]

African countries

- The President's opinion
- Gabon size
 - Infrastructure
 - Government
 - Military
 - Ambassador
 - United Nations [UN]

African countries

- Comparison with Latin America
 - Size
 - Stability
 - Educational system
- Role of US



- Ethiopia
 - History
- Preparation for Government
 - US role in Philippines
- Wright tour through Africa
 - Common ground among African leaders
 - Desire for high level international activity
 - Responsibility for progress
 - Sukarno history

Tricia Nixon Cox's wedding

- Television
 - Adair's compliments

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/19/2019. Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[522-004-w002]

[Duration: 18s]

Tricia Nixon Cox's wedding

- Carolyn Adair's wedding
 - Edward G. Latch's role
 - E. Ross Adair's recommendation

Tricia Nixon Cox's wedding

- Other comments
 - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

Ethiopia

- Accommodations
 - President's experience
- Vice President Spiro T. Agnew visit



White House Tapes of the Nixon Administration, 1971-1973
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- Timing
- Ethiopian reception
- Greetings of President to Selassie
- President and Selassie contacts
- Change in leadership
 - Importance of planning
 - Selassie
 - Capability of youth
 - Selassie's Responsibilities
 - Possible revolutionary legacy

Spain

- Gen. Francisco Franco
- Preparation

Yugoslavia

- People
- History
 - Croats

Appreciation for President's efforts

Gift presentation

E. Ross Adair, et al. left at 12:37 pm.

Conversation No. 522-005

Date: June 16, 1971

Time: 12:38 pm - 12:46 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Herbert G. Klein, Stanley S. Scott and Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins.

Greetings

Stanley S. Scott appointment to staff

- Administration's race relations
 - Black community
 - Black appointments



- Military Court of Appeals
- Armed services
 - Ohio appointment
 - Johnnie Johnson
 - Announcement
 - Senator Edward W. Brooke
 - Ambassadorial job
- Attitudes and trends
- Robert J. Brown
- Other minority roles
 - Women
 - Consumer affairs adviser
 - Chairing commissions
 - Chairman of the Federal Maritime Commission (Helen Delich Bentley)
 - Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission (Catherine May Bedell)
- Use of qualified personnel
 - Johnson
- Congressional Black Caucus
- Trends
- Attitudes
- Scott comfort in job

Gift presentation
-Scott family

Difficulty of job
-Dr. Arthur A. Fletcher

Klein, et al. left at 12:45 pm.

Ronald L. Ziegler entered at 12:45 pm.

President's schedule

Ziegler left at 12:46 pm.



Conversation No. 522-006

Date: June 16, 1971
Time: 12:46 pm - 12:59 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with an unknown man.

Schedule

The unknown man left and Herbert G. Klein, Ronald L. Ziegler, and officers of White House News Photographers Association [WHNPA] George Tames, Arnold C. Noel, Norman Driscoll, Byron Rollins, Maurice Johnson, Charles Shutt, Barry Stroup, George Gaylin, William Beall, Carl Kramer, John Rosson, Charles Woolsey, John McGee, John Arrowsmith, William Galbraith, Lynne Peterson, Allan Smith, Constance ("Connie") Chung, Paul Sisco, Frank E. Cancellare, Henry Griffin, Thomas ("Tom") Craven, Sr., Hugo Johnson, Robert H. Denton, J. Thomas Baltzell, George Dorsey, Joe Roberts, and Andrew J. May entered at 12:46 pm.

Greetings

General discussion

-Golf

Presentation to President

-Bookends

-Origin

-Anniversary of WHNPA

-Originators

-President's photograph of original members of WHNPA

-President's photographic ability

-Mechanics of camera use

Presentation of gifts

Shots of President

-Catalogue

-Opening prayer



President's preference for photographs over text

Chinese view

Klein, et al. left at 12:59 pm.

Conversation No. 522-007

Date: June 16, 1971

Time: 12:59 pm - 1:04 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

Morning press briefing

-Pentagon Papers

-Administration concern with classified material

-Publication of John F. Kennedy administration material

-Dealing with other nations

-Need for confidential contacts

-Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction [MBFR]

-Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]

-Berlin negotiations

-Willy Brandt precedent

-Clarification of the issue

-Violation of security

-Impact

-Suppression of news

-Involvement in war

-Administration Vietnam policy

-Questions to former administration

-Reformulation of policy upon taking office

-Comparison with theft of Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] files

-President's familiarity with material

-Extent of material

-Familiarity with content

-Need to fight *New York Times*

-Possible extent of leak

-Daniel Ellsberg prosecution



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- Deterrent effect
- Public relations
- Attack on press
 - Ziegler's role
- Attack on previous administrations

Ziegler left at 1:04 pm.

Conversation No. 522-008

Date: June 16, 1971

Time: Unknown between 1:04 pm and 1:15 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman and Alexander P. Butterfield.

President's upcoming meeting with Foreign Minister Swaran Singh

- Approval of participants
 - Henry A. Kissinger
 - Joseph J. Sisco
 - Kenneth B. Keating
 - Ambassador Lakshmi Kant Jha
 - Kissinger role

Rural Electrification Youth group

- Schedule
- Clifford M. Hardin

Butterfield left at 1:09 pm.

- Dispersement on South Lawn
- President's schedule
 - Greeting
- White House tour
- "Drop by" from President
- Size of group
- Schedule
 - White House tour



Haldeman left at unknown time before 1:15 pm.

Conversation No. 522-009

Date: June 16, 1971
Time: Unknown between 1:09 pm and 1:15 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

- President's schedule
 - Rural Electrification Youth group
 - Cliff M. Hardin speech

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 1:09 pm.

- "Drop by" from President
 - Information for President's use
 - Ronald L. Ziegler

The President, Haldeman, and Bull left at 1:15 pm.

Conversation No. 522-010

Date: June 16, 1971
Time: Unknown between 1:15 pm and 1:27 pm
Location: Oval Office

Unknown people met.

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 06/19/2019.]

[Unintelligible]



[522-010-w001]
[Duration: 1m 2s]

The President's location

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time before 1:27 pm.

Telephone call

Conversation No. 522-011

Date: June 16, 1971
Time: 1:27 pm - 2:15 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H.R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

- Rural Electrification Youth Group
 - "Drop by" from President
 - Effects
 - Appeal to rural Congressmen

- Presidential appearances
 - Press coverage
 - Past events
 - Columbia Country Club visit
 - Mr. Beck [?]
 - Tulane University coverage
 - Benefits of impromptu visits
 - Benefits of Rural Electrification Youth Group drop by
 - Political benefits

- Youth
 - Idealism



- Peace issue focus
- Environmental issues
- Rural Electrification Youth group
 - Appearance
 - Effect of President's visit
- Benefits of impromptu appearance
 - Compared with scheduled visits
 - Preparation of critical groups
 - Ohio State University
 - Effects of visit on unprepared groups

Politics and public relations

- Willy Brandt
- Woodrow Wilson Center
 - Hubert H. Humphrey
 - Daniel Patrick Moynihan role
 - W. Averell Harriman
 - President's involvement
 - President' previous visit
 - Humphrey political attack
 - Use of Woodrow Wilson Center and Smithsonian
- Public Broadcasting
 - National Educational Television [NET]
 - Frederic V. Malek analysis
- Partisanship in foreign affairs
 - Robert J. Dole
 - Attack on Democrats
- Orchestration of events
 - Intelligence on events
 - Des Moines event
 - Lessons
 - Crowd handling
 - “Hard Hats”
 - Farmers
 - Youth
 - Demeanor
- Anti-Nixon groups

Public relations



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- American Broadcasting Company [ABC] documentary
 - Filming of leadership meeting
 - Ronald L. Ziegler
 - Lyndon B. Johnson precedent
 - Producer enthusiasm
 - Comment to Ambassador
 - Benefits
 - William H. Carruthers comment
 - Domestic Council
 - John D. Ehrlichman
 - Relations with media
 - Administration strengths
 - Opportunities for news
 - William L. Safire
 - Ziegler
 - Press conferences
 - Speeches
- Pentagon Papers
 - Identification of issue
 - Press
 - Involvement in Vietnam
 - Danger to nation
 - Role of US in Vietnam

President's schedule

- Rochester trip
 - Filming
 - Only one camera
 - Use
 - Audio and visual clips
 - Timing
 - Cameras
 - Pool camera
 - Extent of use
 - Use of footage
 - Crowd involvement
 - Effective presentation
 - Visual content
 - Use of audio



- Time factor
- Florida trip
 - Henry A. Kissinger role
 - Preparation for foreign trip
- California trip
 - Timing
 - Tie to Congressional schedule
 - Holiday schedule
 - President's schedule
 - Departure
 - Stop in Midwest
 - Benefits
 - Fourth of July holiday
 - Camp David
 - "Honor America" film
 - Televising
 - ABC use
 - Use of television time
 - Midwest media briefing
 - California trip

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/19/2019. Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[522-011-w001]

[Duration: 1m 14s]

The President's schedule

- California trip
 - Time off
 - Reasons for trip relayed to others
 - Work on federal budget
 - Need time to think



The President's schedule

- California trip
 - Need for press conference
- Possible press conference, July 1
- Television
 - Question of interruption
 - Summer audiences
 - Press
 - Preparation
- Additional California trip

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/19/2019. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[522-011-w002]

[Duration: 22s]

The President's schedule

- California trip
 - July 7-13, 1971

The President's schedule

- Upcoming budget meeting
 - Ehrlichman and George P. Shultz
- Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] graduation
- Press conference
- Winton M. ("Red") Blount dinner
- Chowder and Marching Society dinner



[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/19/2019.
Segment cleared for release.]
[Personal Returnable]
[522-011-w003]
[Duration: 6s]

- The President's schedule
- California trip
- Time off

- The President's schedule
- Press conference
- Audience
- Consistency
- Ehrlichman/Shultz budget meeting
- Allocation of time
- Budget review
- Goals
- Veto policy
- Camp David

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/19/2019.
Segment cleared for release.]
[Personal Returnable]
[522-011-w004]
[Duration: 36s]

- The President's schedule
- California trip
- July 7-13, 1971
- Possibility of July 14
- Policy reading
- Reports



-Need to be away from the job

The President's schedule

- Budget business
- Opening of Bicentennial Era at the National Archives, July 3
- Media role
- Trip to Midwest
- Chicago trip
 - Milk producers
- Ohio, Illinois trip
 - Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati, Ohio

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 06/19/2019.
Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]
[522-011-w005]
[Duration: 1m 12s]

The President's schedule

- Comments from Robert S. Oelman
 - Head of National Cash Register
 - John N. Mitchell
 - Robert A. Taft, Jr.
 - Leadership role
- Ohio politics
 - Karl K. Bendetsen
 - Louis Kenneth Eilers
 - Ohio dinner
 - John D. Ehrlichman's role
 - John J. Gilligan
 - Robert S. Oelman's comments on popularity



The President's schedule

- Ohio politics
 - Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati, Ohio
 - Cincinnati
 - Cleveland
 - Dayton
 - St. Louis
 - Benefits of trip
 - Cincinnati trip
 - Past trip
 - Columbus trip
 - Ohio
 - Need for attention
 - Proximity of areas to Kent State University
- Drug announcement in Rochester
- Upcoming speech to the American Medical Association [AMA]
- Chicago trip
 - Frederick L. Hovde retirement dinner
 - Arrival in Chicago
 - Reason for Indianapolis stop
 - Benefits
- Press conference
- National Archives event, July 3
- Speech preparation
 - AMA
- Milwaukee substitution

Haldeman left at 2:15 pm.